3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

one of those which is frequently symbolized in the chisungu by the offering of food in order of age; by acts of obeisance to seniors; by the singing over and over again of the song about the immutability of precedence based on age, which runs 'The arm-pit cannot be higher than the shoulder'. The girl's proper conduct is expressed in the phrase 'be submissive, or make yourself soft and pliant before your elders' (*ukusakila kubakalamba*).

There is in fact a greater expression of the principle of precedence by age in the chisungu than in the chiefly rites themselves. This may be due to the fact that all rites of role assumption naturally give importance to age since it is those who have already assumed the senior role who can hand it on to the juniors. It is also true that Bemba girls are not removed from their own family to be put under the control of their mothers-in-law as in a patrilineal society, but they are placed under the authority of different older women in their own and other villages. Some of these are related to the girls and some are not. It must be remembered too that the chisungu is a public ceremony given over to teaching while most of the chiefly rites are done in secret and people merely assume that they have been correctly carried out.

Turning now to the social groups based on descent, it is worth noting that there is very little ritual expression of clan or lineage unity in the chisungu in spite of the fact that it deals with marriage and procreation. The principle of matrilineal descent is very strongly held here in spite of the domestic authority the father manages to win, which is greater than that reported from other matrilineal peoples in the area such as the Yao. The dogma as to the nature of biological descent was never questioned during my visit or the belief that the woman was responsible for the production of the child.[1] Exogamy rules within the clan are carefully kept, and clan greetings used. Yet although in some Bantu societies clan and lineage precedence is expressed in first-fruit ceremonies and members of different clans sit apart in clearly marked groups at tribal rites, in Lubemba there is no ritual ex-

[1] I quote in my article on the Bemba in *African Political Systems* edited by E. E. Evans-Pritchard and M. Fortes, 1939, (p. 97) an amazed comment made by a patrilineal Ngoni about Bemba beliefs on the subject: 'If I have a bag and put money in it, the money belongs to me. But the Bemba say a man puts semen into a woman and yet the children belong to the woman, not to the man.'

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

pression of this principle of social grouping beyond the precedence given at the court to the descendants of certain clans who accompanied the first Citimukulu to the present territory, and some ritual duties based on clan membership. In the chisungu however, it is the family which is emphasized and not the lineage. It must be recalled that the Bemba boy provides his own small token payments at marriage and does service for his father-in-law. His maternal relatives do not often help him and they are not economically interested in the success of the marriage as are bride's relatives among the patrilineal Southern Bantu. The boy himself is making an individual contract with all his wife's relatives. The girl's father and mother and the father's sister are the main actors in the ceremony and the father is the potential head of the extended family which will be based on uxorilocal residence.

Further, the clan and lineage have no political functions as corporate groups except in the case of the royal dynasty. It might therefore be concluded that ceremonies for expressing corporate feeling are not necessary. It might be equally well concluded that the ceremonies connected with chiefs' succession do in fact portray the principles of matrilineal descent and that the chisungu emphasizes the girl's duty to bear children for her maternal relatives. These suggestions should be tested in other matrilineal societies.

It seems clear that the maintenance of a stable family group is a difficult matter among the Bemba. There is the desire of the girl to stay with her own people which is opposed to that of the boy who wishes to return to his, and there are no economic links to bind them to one village rather than another. This type of contract may account for the chisungu ritual which stresses the link between husband and wife; the supernatural sanctions against adultery; and the constant admonishment of the girl to submit to her husband, to give him honour and also to give honour and food to her in-laws. The series of presentations of food to the son-in-law might also be listed as part of the whole process of winning the young bridegroom and persuading him to stay in his wife's village.

To conclude, Bemba chieftainship rites express a number of beliefs that are common to the chisungu such as the sex-fire-blood association and the link between political authority and the ac-

614 it must be emphasized that the matriclans in this area are in no sense political or territorial groups. Through clan affiliation a man traces his descent, his rank, and, if he belongs to the royal clan, his right to succeed to chieftainship. In the old days substitution of men or women in the payment of blood revenge could take place within the clan. But no property is owned in common by the clan. There is neither joint occupation of land nor collective ritual activities. The distinguishing features of the Bemba clan are the name, praise-name and legends associated with the original ancestress and also, in some cases, with her brother.

554 614 616 Characteristic aspects of these Bemba clans are the hierarchy of status in which they are ranged and the reciprocity of paired clan relations. The former is based on the alleged priority of the arrival of clan ancestors in Bemba country and also proximity to the heart of the country. Highest in rank and forming the royal clan are the Crocodiles. This hierarchy is to be observed in other groups in the area, though the royal clans differ. Clan names, generally those of natural objects, animals, birds etc., have been called totemic, although there are few, if any, food taboos associated with them.(1) The words used are frequently archaic and are common to other groups in the area, e.g. Lamba, Kaonde, Lala. The story of their acquisition is the basis for the pairing of opposite clans. The clans paired seem to be those whose clan symbols are naturally antipathetic or complementary to one another, e.g., fish and crocodile, mushroom and rain. They are not paired systematically but often by purely arbitrary factors connecting the clan with several such partners.

616 764 582 602 Reciprocal functions of a paired clan are chiefly confined to funeral rites.(2) The 'kamungwe', the name used reciprocally by members of paired clans, of a dead man's family both help and hinder at the burial ceremony. Ritually expressed, therefore, the traditional attitude between partners is one of hostility yet, as the complementary nature of the clan names often implies, one of service. Between partners there is ease and freedom of behaviour, privileges are taken and formerly, it is said, marriages between them were preferential. Briefly, reciprocal clan relationship among the Bemba implies ritual interdependence, partnership of rivals expressed in ritual, traditional joking and licence in daily relations and preferential marriage claims.(3)

● 613 [591] Within the Bemba clan a loosely organized group called "the house" (nganda) is recognised which is composed of the descendants of one woman. Richards points out that this matrilineage is in no sense a corporate group.(4) The members of the "house" trace descent to one woman and remember the village where this woman lived. They do not, however, live in one place since the rules of residence at marriage necessitate the scattering of both male and female members of the matrilineage throughout a number of villages. No property is owned in common by its members, nor is its senior male in a position of political authority, although he has certain powers over the women of the group and their children. This dispersed

(1) Richards, A. 1939, p.62. Food taboos do exist among the Tabwa, see Vleugels J. 1948. (2) Richard., A. 1937.
(3) This is marked among the Tabwa. See Vleugels, op.cit.
(4) Richards, A. 1950.

patrilineage is, in the case of commoners, merely a unit of succession; in the case of members of the royal dynasty it is the unit which provides for the succession of chieftainships. 613

MARRIAGE

Uxorilocal residence, at any rate during the early years of married life, is characteristic of this group of peoples. Large payments in money or goods are not made at marriage, but the bridegroom, formerly at least, gave service to his parents-in-law for a number of years and sometimes remains permanently a member of the village in which his wife was born. Among the Lamba, for instance, it is the common practice for a young man to give a small betrothal present (inalome) to his fiancée's parents. He then moves to her village and builds a house there. Young girls were often engaged in this way before puberty, and performed small services for their husbands, such as sweeping the hut, drawing water or even sleeping in the same bed with them. At puberty they were removed from their husbands' huts until the cisungu (girls' puberty rite) had been performed and a marriage ceremony with the ritual consummation of the union took place. When she was first married, a girl had no right to a fire-place of her own, but shared in the cooking with her mother and married sisters. Later she acquired her own fire-place, granary and garden. After two or more children had been born, and the son-in-law had won the confidence of his parents-in-law, he was allowed to remove his bride to his own village or to some other village of his choosing. The rate of conversion of such marriages is not known amongst the Lamba, although Richards states that she believes that it was higher in this area than among the Bisa.(1) Figures for the Lamba, who practise a similar type of marriage, are given on p.59. 591 583 [88] [85]

Characteristic of the Bemba marriage contract is the importance attached to the series of ceremonial presentations of food by the mother-in-law to her son-in-law, which gradually make him "free" to eat the different staple foods, and the final ceremony known as the kusingishya or "the entering in of the son-in-law", which takes place after the children have been born and the marriage is established and which puts an end finally to the taboos/ relationship between a man and his wife's people. The ceremonial marking of the different stages in the establishment of a permanent marriage relationship was sometimes concluded in the old days by a second marriage ceremony known as the kwingo. This was a gesture of respect which a man of substance offered to his wife and her people in the case of a marriage which had been long established with a woman to whom the husband was particularly devoted. At the kwingo marriage, which has also been described for the Bisa, more goods were transferred than in the case of the first marriage, and it is specifically stated to have been a display of wealth.(2) 583

Among the Ingo, marriage procedures seem to be much more casual, there being no service to the son-in-law. Brelsford suggests that the marriage payment serves simply to confirm the fact that intercourse between the couple has already started and that the marriage is a fact.(3) The Bemba hold such arrangements in contempt. 583 184

(1) Richards, A. 1950.
(2) Richards, A. 1940, p.118.

5:Slaski E-4 (no date) 1950 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

Luapula Peoples

The fifty or so clans represented in the valley are part of a fairly uniform clan system which extends over the territories inhabited by the Bemba-, Luba- and Lamba-speaking peoples. The *Bena Mumba* (Clay clan) have their *ntulo* at Matanda in the upper valley of the Luapula, those of the *Bakosa* (Millipede clan) and the *Bena Mbushi* (Goat clan) are on the Lualaba; that of the *Bena Mfula* (Rain clan) is in the forest of Ngumbo on Lake Bangweulu. Originally, it is vaguely believed, all came from Kola (Angola?) 614

The *cikota* or *cisaka* is a segment of the clan, no longer localised, whose members gather to discuss *milandu* cases and to make decisions in matters of inheritance and succession. 613

Cikolae ("big cock") is a term used to denote a common ancestor. It can be applied to the head, alive or dead, of a matrilineal descent group of any size, but usually refers to the ancestor or ancestress who broke away from the clan and led his extended family and followers from their clan *ntulo* to the valley.

Clan membership is not rigidly determined; it is usual to belong to one's mother's clan but it is possible to claim membership of any of the clans to which one's grandparents belonged. The descendants of the Lunda of Muata Yamvo remain patrilineal. The Luba from the Lualaba, who joined the Lunda and became Lundaised, were previously matrilineal. 611 614

TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION AND SETTLEMENT

Villages were originally founded by the immigrant groups under the leadership of *fikolae* (sing. *cikolae*) many of whom were women. The nucleus of each group was formed by a single matrilineal descent group, *cikota*. In spite of inter-marriage and increasing spatial mobility, which tend to obliterate the original connection between the territorial and the kinship structure, villages are still identified by outsiders with their founding clans. 621

Village headmanship remains in the *cikota*. The headman succeeds to the office, the name, the wives, and the insignia (belt and gun or spear) of his predecessor. He has the charge of *nshipa*, the village medicine. A village is divided into wards, *fitente* (sing. *citente*), in which the households of close relatives are grouped together. [624]

Most of the old village sites in the dambos of the Luapula tributaries are now derelict. With the coming of the Pax Britannica and the development of cash sales of fish the villages moved closer to the river edge and now extend along the trunk road. New villages recognised by the government must number at least fifteen tax-payers. The average size of villages is 150-200 inhabitants. The capital has a population of 3,000.(1) 361 621

Formerly the huts were circular, grass-roofed, woven bamboo structures,(2) scattered amidst cassava plantations.(3) Nowadays the villages are more 342 361

1) The capital is usually referred to as Kasembe. It was moved south after the Yeke invasion. The old site is part of the territory settled by the Bemba after they had assisted Kasembe against the Yeke. The new site was previously known as Mwanzabombwe.

2) Valdez, II, p.249; Burton, p.46. (3) Livingstone, I, p.248.

644 551 have never obtained either of the two hereditary names are either because they have died before opportunity arrived or because they were daughters and thus passed over in favour of granddaughters.

644 Another point is that not until the fourth generation in this lineage, in line C, do we find more than two mothers of chiefs of the same generation. In line C the mothers of chiefs are, strictly speaking, four. But since Chandamukulu II C4 and Chandamukulu III C5 are blood sisters and since Chandamukulu II C4 failed to perpetuate her female line through Chilufya D4 the practical effect is to give us now three branches of the clan. The line of the Chandamukulus II C4 and III C5, that of Mukukamfumu C8 and that of Mushimba C 11.

Hence my use in later sections of the terms referring to first, second and third branches of the clan. I think such a use is justified since, as I have said, the two Chandamukulus C4 and C5 are blood connections and because the first portion of the line D as far as D5 is almost finished, its status and seniority being taken over by the second portion.

Such a division is perhaps very arbitrary but it simplifies the following interpretation of the tendencies of chiefly succession.

644 613 622 In earlier lineages there were more than the two or three sisters of Paramounts, but as I shall tell in other sections, their sons were not concerned with the succession to the Paramountcy. They were split off to found separate chieftainships of their own. In talking to the councillors about this they use phrases such as— " they were too far away (on a genealogical horizontal line) to be considered." It seems clear that the councillors have in mind some sort of stop on a horizontal line beyond which a *nsamfumu* would not be considered as bearing sons eligible for the Paramountcy. Where this stop is, of course, depends upon circumstances such as how many sons a senior *nsamfumu* produces. In the past, earlier lineages, whether from accident or design two *nsamfumu* have sufficed and so have two until the fourth generation of this lineage. There is supposed to have been a third sister (or cousin) beyond Bwembia A6 on line A who was founder of the Shimumbi house. See Section 3.

Before going on I should insist that where this stop is made, or if one is necessary at the present time, is a matter for the Superior Native Authority, Chitimukulu and his councillors. Whatever points I make from a historical stand-point I gain from discussion with the councillors, and whatever suggestions I make from an administrative point of view are subject to scrutiny by the Superior Native Authority.

My own belief that the stop comes almost instinctively after a second branch of the clan, is founded firstly on the importance of the fact that there are but two hereditary names of *nsamfumu*. Also on an authoratative, though guarded, remark from some councillors that whether the present succession stopped with Chikwanda D15 or went on to Kafyama D20 depended solely upon the position in the new generation, line E. In other words if there are powerful claimants or perhaps a sufficient number of claimants for the important posts from the senior but lower generation then the most junior of the higher generation to the right will be considered as " too far away." A propos of the present position one councillor said— " in the past there would have been fighting about it. But now the Government must settle this." From what has been told of Bemba history it would appear that he is right about this being a fighting stage.

Dr. Gluckman pointed out to me that what has been taking place in the Bemba chiefly structure is a feature not only of Bemba history but also of many other African systems. This is a tendency to dichotomy and political struggle for the big posts between the various branches of the clan. The junior branches tend to drift and separate from the main branch and then they have to fight to get back to gain the main chieftainships. The struggles are related to the territorial divisions and the fights and intrigues between the powerful heads of such areas have, in practice, the effect of periodically re-uniting the nation. For, after each civil war, the big posts leading to the Paramountcy are again in a single branch of the family. The Paramount himself takes over the Lubemba area and the tribe is united again until a new drift away of junior branches to become territorial powers recommences. This is not the place for anthropological theorising so I refer these characteristics to the genealogical table[1]. We now have three branches of the clan. The second branch, that of the Mukukamfumu has steadily moved farther away from the Chandamukulu line, but it has succeeded in taking one big chieftainship the Nkula, and perhaps a second, the Chikwanda. Hence the tendency, mentioned by Dr. Richards, for certain chieftainships to become stabilised in definite families, is partially true. (*Op. cit.* (1), page 103.) Unless the junior branch fights, as the Mukukamfumu one is doing, it would eventually move still farther away from the senior branch and find itself left with just its present chieftainships and no hope of getting to the Paramountcy. Any third branch of the clan, as the present Mushimba branch, would also find itself drifting still farther into a little separate line of succession. This has happened to third lines in the earlier and present lineage. (See Section 3.)

In the past this drifting away of a junior branch has often been stopped by wars and fights in which the junior branch brought itself into the Paramountcy line again. The Chimbola incident is one I have described. But these wars cannot occur in the future and the Bemba chiefly system is at a delicate stage. The old councillor who said that this would have been a fighting period was right. The Mukukamfumu branch has been satisfied, more or less, with the Nkula chieftainship since 1924 and the Chandamukulu branch still to-day says it is willing for the Mukukamfumu branch to follow on after it even to the Paramountcy. There is not much hope of this as I show later. The fact that there are two queen mothers with hereditary names is still a guiding line to succession and I am inclined to think that no son of a Chandamukulu or a Mukukamfumu would be considered as being " too far away " to come into the direct line—at the moment. The Chandamukulu succession must keep switching back to the extreme left, but, if the Chandamukulu has many sisters, daughters, and nieces, as in the present lines D and E, the Mukukamfumu must be pushed farther away to the right. And so her sons will be farther away from the Paramountcy. In time even a descendant of a Mukukamfumu would be " too far away."

That explanation is of future complications and most of us can see the difficulties in allowing the line to go on indefinitely to the right. To deal with present day succession. Is one step at least to be made after Chikwanda D15, the last son of a Mukukamfumu ?

I will continue to refer to Mushimba C11 as the third sister because, as I have explained, her name has now been made into an hereditary one and I have classed, for convenience and because C4's family is at a dead end, the offspring of the two Chandamukulus C4 and C3 as one family.

[1] [see cat 116, pp. 44-50 — Audrey]

613 At the moment, if we continue the line D we find, of the same generation as the reigning chiefs, the sons of the third sister Mushimba C11. She
643 has two sons, Chief Shimumbi IV D18 and Musungu Kafyama D20. If
644 the line is carried right across, these two men are numbers seven and eight from the Paramountcy. In 1942 Kafyama D20 tried to claim the vacant Mpepo on the grounds that the line should be followed right across. But, after discussion with Government, the Superior Native Authority disallowed his claim, not because the Authority had considered the principle but because in any case Mutale Nshika D10 was the right heir for he was the son of the eldest sister. But with the first death of any of the existing chiefs in the Paramountcy line the principle of succession will have to be decided, for there are no more sons of this generation from the elder sisters. This is the problem. Should the third branch and its offspring be considered at all as claimants for chieftainships leading to the Paramountcy? The fact that such people are of the royal totem does entitle them to chieftainships when available, but does it entitle them to those in the main line and can the sons of any royal sister claim this right?

The third branch of the family naturally asserts that it has this right. But it would be hazardous to state that tribal opinion, or the rule of the hereditary councillors, would support it, for an actual issue has never before been placed before them. The Nkula of a second branch, claimed that the descent was changed to a vertical one in its favour by the long run of Paramountcies from the right of the table. This is a belief based on an axiom that is often quoted in tribal arguments, the axiom that history makes the custom. If we examine the historical position of the third branch of the clan we soon see why their claim to follow on the direct line is still a debatable one.

In actual research I have failed to find any instance of the son of a third sister entering the direct line to the Paramountcy. There are instances that will be given later of the sons of the third sisters becoming chiefs, but such occurrences usually resulted in the formation of separate and distinct lines of chiefs. It may be contended that this was only because death cut them off before their chance came, and that these other chieftainships were created so as to give them a chance of power whilst they were waiting to see what happened to the sons of the elder sisters. That may be, but it is an assumption that cannot now be proved. Violent death in wars and quarrels must have cut off as many scions of the first family as of the third in the past, and it is strange that, although there have been third sisters with sons many times in past lineages, it is only now they are enabled to
613 approach the main line.

643 There are two more historical facts that seem to show that the third
644 sister is not on the same footing as the first two. At the moment only the
551 two *namfumu* Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu possess *babeape* or tribal
[778] relics. These are the sacred objects that all chiefs and other tribal personages have and that are inherited with the name and post. Mushimba C11 had none, perhaps only because she had not inherited a name, but this fact alone would place her on a definitely lower plane than the other two women and indicate that she is not really of the same class. I have already told how Mushimba C11 was not allowed to go to Kabamba for fear she should usurp the post and relics of Mukukamfumu. So long as there were two *namfumu* living there was no question then of creating the third one. I have already pointed out that never before has a third name been inherited, although Goodall's big table and the histories of the minor chieftainships

give many examples of third sisters with sons. This also seems to indicate that the third sister was not considered as an important bearer of a name. Mushimba C11 died in 1928 and she was the first of that name. In 1943 the Paramount said that the name of Mushimba should be perpetuated and he called Sampa E12, classificatory granddaughter of deceased, Mushimba II. It should be understood that all names are inherited. There is a Nakasafya called after B5 but she is not a *nsanfumu*. But in the case of Mushimba the name now appears again for a second time as a *nsanfumu* in a direct line of inheritance. But the councillors, in spite of the Paramount's statement, are still undecided as to whether E12 should still retain the name Sampa or be called Mushimba. So that even the perpetuation of a third name is still not completely settled.

551 613 ● 643 644

Those historical facts show that in the past, whatever the real reasons may have been, the third sister and her sons were not concerned with the line to the Paramountcy. If they are to be in the future is presumably a matter for the main tribal council, or that part of it concerned with succession, to decide. There are however a few administrative factors which might influence the council either now or in the future. I think I should give them here in order to complete this full discussion of the position of the third branch of the clan.

613 643 644

To restrict all claims to the Paramountcy and its attendant chieftainships to the sons of the elder two sisters only would, of course, simplify the succession considerably. The succession of Bemba chiefs is complicated and intricate mainly because it involves so many chieftainships, which are necessary in a large tribe, and because the system is spread over so many wide-flung administrative districts. When the present Chitimukulu D1 inherited it took a Government enquiry nine months to verify that he was the right man, and only the descendants of two Chandamukulus and a Mukukamfumu were involved. If the line is allowed to continue to the extreme right and involve any number of *nsanfumu*, then the number of sons who have to be considered will become greater every generation. For death will not simplify matters so easily as it did in the past. This complication by number does not arise when a line of descent goes down vertically, or perhaps I should say, horizontally only in one branch. So that for administrative convenience it would be better to contain the succession within more definite lines.

613 622 643 644

Secondly, with the line restricted there will not be so much shifting of chiefs on promotion from one district to another. For with more emphasis on a vertical descent it is more probable that the man to inherit is not an existing chief but a young man, nephew to deceased, instead of a cousin of the same generation.

622

Thirdly this would help to stop a long succession of old men—brother following brother and cousin following cousin. There would be a more constant stream of younger men obtaining chieftainships. Moreover, this would give Government a chance to educate men who have a reasonable prospect of becoming chiefs. At the moment there are too many men of the same generation to be considered. We have had a series of old, conservative chiefs. It is true that the new people following at the moment are younger but, and this really important, they are all practically of the same age since they are of the same generation. So that in ten years' time we shall again see many important Bemba chieftainships held by old men.

622 If this horizontal reading of the table is extended beyond one or two branches of the clan there is not so much hope of getting a constant leavening of younger men. Most of the chiefs in the direct line to the Paramountcy will be much of the same age.

Lastly, the Superior Authority is being encouraged to cut down the number of redundant chieftainships. This will emphasise still more not only the intricacy of the descent but will make it still more obvious that only old men will become chiefs. If the horizontal line of succession is carried across as far as it will go and there are a reduced number of chieftainships this not only means that the claimants may have to be traced through a series of dead men but also that the general age of men succeeding will be still higher. For there will be so many cousins without chieftainships who must get them before the younger sons of *nsan/umu*.

613 643 That concludes the discussion on the place and status of the present third branch of the clan. The historical and administrative arguments seem to be on the side of its members being ignored as regards the Paramountcy and in favour of them being restricted to their own separate little chieftainship of Shimumbi. What attitude the Council will take I do not know. The influence of Kafyama D20, the man who has a lot to gain, is considerable as he is a very assertive character. He will deal very roughly with any suggestion that history does not support his claims. However, whatever may happen in the immediate future this examination of the place of the third branch may be useful if ever a Council does consider simplification of the system.

680 Suppose this third branch was cut out. How would the descent go? Referring again to the table it means that Chikwanda D15 is the last man of his generation to be considered: that Shimumbi D18 and Kafyama D20 remain a separate entity and receive no promotion from their own chieftainship of Shimumbi. Thus when either Chitimukulu D1 or Mwamba D3 dies the Mpepo would become vacant. The descent would then drop a line to Chakwangashi E2, the son of Chandamukulu Chabili D7. (Chikwanda would not want the Mpepo as it is a less post than his.) The descent would go downwards instead of so far across. Kaconde D4, the next sister, only has daughters so the next vacancy might go to Mubanga E8, the son of Mubanga D9. If any of the sisters only have daughters or no issue then the offspring of a third sister would have to be considered, although the sons of the daughters themselves would not lose seniority. In the case of Chandamukulu II C4 and III C3 we have an instance of the line of a more senior sister dying out as regards succession and the next sister taking the place of the more senior one.

Thus the descent would be simplified and restricted. A glance at the line E, below that of the present chiefs shows how the number of female descendants is increasing. The time may come when not two or three sisters, but perhaps four or five, have to be considered and the line to the Paramountcy become still more complicated.

(c) The Present and Future Succession.

643 644 I must remind readers of the rules enunciated in subsection (a), ¶ That the table is read as a book, horizontally from left to right, and that all the sons of one generation must be passed before there is a switch back to the left and down to a lower generation.

‡ [see cat. 116, pp. 4-5 - NAZ/F6/5]

Section 2.—THE LINE OF NKULA.

613 622 At the moment this is the house of Mukukamfumu, the second (my classification) branch of the clan. I have dealt adequately with the history and position of Mukukamfumu, and the association of the various Nkulas with the Paramountcy has been mentioned in the first section. I must now give a brief connected description of the succession.

In the old lineage there was a house of a *nsmfumu* Ngoshe, who is said to have been the senior sister of a Chitimukulu Katongo. Her line was pushed out of the Paramountcy line in one of the typical wars between the various branches of the clan. They were left with a chieftainship of Chewe, rather like the Chimbola house arrangement later, beyond the Chambeshi.

The first Chewe was to have been succeeded by his nephew but the nephew's younger brother quarrelled with the heir, dragged him out of a hut by his leg and told him to keep away. The younger brother took the post and was known as Nkula-Chewe (from Ku-kula, to drag or pull).

This Nkula—Chewe was succeeded by another nephew Chimfwembe who was holding the post at the time Chileshe Chepela A2 took the Paramountcy. When Chimfwembe died the Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 thought it was a chance to take even the one chieftainship from the house of Ngoshye. Chief Mwaba (another relic of an old royal family—see later) wanted to take the area. But Chitapankwa B4 sent his younger brother Sampa Kapalakasha B6 and there was a fight in which Mwaba was killed.

Kapalakashya B6 is usually classed as Nkula I of the new lineage but he did not stay very long in the area. He was next to become Paramount and he wished to be on hand when Chitapankwa B4 died. So he went back to Lubemba.

The weakling Chimfwembe B7 could not be given a post where a strong man was needed to take the brunt of Ngoni and Senga raids so the nephew Mutale Sichansa C3 was made Nkula II. Mutale Sichansa C3 had missed the Nkolemfumu post because Mwamba Kapalaula B3 and Chitapankwa B4 had both died within a short time of each other, as I have related, and thus Mubanga Chipoya C2 could leave Nkolemfumu to become Mwamba and his younger brother Mutale Sichansa C3 jump the Nkolemfumu for the bigger post of Nkula. He died as Nkula and Chikwanda I C6 holding a post newly created by Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 succeeded him. But he only stayed as Nkula III for a very short period for, it is said he hankered after the salt pans at Chibwa, and the richer elephant country of his old home as Chikwanda in the Mpika district. There is another story. Kapalakashya B6 had taken the relics (*bulenge*) of the house of Chewe and Sichansa C3 had inherited them. But as soon as Sichansa C3 died the Chewe house took them back again and refused to give them to Chikwanda C6. It is said that "uncles" cannot make war on "nephews" though the nephew can make war on uncle. A very subtle point of chiefly etiquette! So Chikwanda C6 could not wrest the relics from a Chewe who was his classificatory nephew and he left the Nkula saying that a nephew of his could come and fight the uncle Chewe. He left Chinsali and went back as Chikwanda. Whilst Chikwanda C6 had been Nkula, Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya

C2 had died and the incidents related previously concerning the Mwamba succession had occurred. Ponde C10 was defeated by Government forces and he obtained neither the Mwamba nor the Nkula. The opposition of the Chandamukulu family and the defeat and flight kept him from both these posts. Another story is that Ponde C10 was a favourite of Chitimukulu Chimfwembe B7 and that he enjoyed far more power and influence as unofficial aide-de-camp and regent to the Paramount than he would have as Nkula. 613 622

So the succession had to drop a line to the next generation. The post was the third most important in the tribe and it had not yet become stabilised in the one branch of the clan, for Nkula II C3 was from a senior *nsamfumu*, Mukukamfumu II B2 at the extreme left of the table. Why then did not Luatila D2 claim the Nkula ?

Only at this recent point in chiefly history, 1911, and with the fourth Nkula did the stabilisation of the Nkula in the one family begin. The only story of why Luatila D2 did not go to be Nkula is that both Chikwanda C6 and Ponde C10 sent word that they would not accept him. They said that the Chandamukulu branch held the Mwamba post and they wanted the Nkula for one of their branch. The Chandamukulu branch agreed and the stabilisation of the Nkula was begun.

Kafola D11 was dead so Bwalya D12 the senior nephew of Mukukamfumu C8, became Nkula IV about 1911. Chikwanda C8 only had a few months in his old post of Chikwanda when Chitimukulu Makumba B7 died and Chikwanda C6 inherited the Paramountcy. He was succeeded as Chikwanda II by Musungu D14 the younger brother of Bwalya Nkula D12. Chewe died about 1912 and Bwalya Nkula D12 obtained the relics without a war and then brought in his youngest brother Bwembya D15 as Chewe.

Bwalya Nkula IV D12 died in 1934 and, as I have mentioned, Nkolemfumu Mbonkali D5 did claim the post. It was the most recent attempt to keep all the big chieftainships in the one branch but it failed. The Paramount and councillors insisted that the Mukukamfumu branch must keep this one big chieftainship. So Chikwanda III D14 followed his brother and became Nkula V. He still holds the post. He was succeeded as Chikwanda III by Bwembya Chewe D15 and since the Chewe was proving but a small post the Superior Native Authority abolished the post and Nkula absorbed the area.

It is an interesting history giving an illustration of another senior branch of the clan the Ngoshye being swept into nonentity by the present senior house and it also shows the beginning of the present drift of the Mukukamfumu branch away from the main line. But at the same time, neither the late Nkula D12 nor the present one D14 acknowledge that they are too far away to become Paramounts.

Nkula's present position assessed by Government as regards salary, is as third in the Bemba heirarchy, following Chitimukulu and Mwamba. This follows closely his traditional status. Some people doubt whether Nkula would leave his post to become Mwamba if such an opening occurred. I am sure he would because Mwamba's salary is higher than Nkula's, and Nkula would be gaining in honour and status by becoming Mwamba. He would be justified in jumping over any Nkolemfumu or Mpepo who had been appointed from further to the right on the table or from the line below, as he himself would not have left his post to become Nkolemfumu or Mpepo. [554]

613 622 At the moment with a younger man in one of these two posts and both held by men who will obtain the Paramountcy and Mwamba before him, it does not seem likely that the present Nkula will ever change his post.

At one period in recent history, as I have related, there were three royal chieftainships belonging to this house, Nkula, Chikwanda and Chewe. There are only two royal chieftainships now held by this branch of the clan, plus one or two for sons.

The line of Nkula is now—Nkula D14 followed by Chikwanda D15. As to who follows Chikwanda D15 depends upon whether the third branch of the clan is allowed to follow the to left and who dies first. If the third branch is followed, Shimumbi D18 may move up, followed by Kafyama D20. It should be remembered that the Nkolemfumu is a bigger post than the Shimumbi and that the Chikwanda is bigger than either of them. So that the Chikwanda D15 would only move to take the Nkula or the Mwamba.

It is hardly possible to say more about this succession at the moment. Nkula D15 is not likely to become Mwamba so he will stay and thus be succeeded by Chikwanda D15. The Nkolemfumu and Mpepo posts will either be filled by Shimumbi D18 and Kafyama D20, or by sons of Chabili D7 or Mubanga D9, for if the Mushimba branch is cut out the descent must switch back to the left and drop a line.

Thus who follows Chikwanda D15 if he becomes Nkula depends upon moves that will follow the death of Chitimukulu D1 or Mwamba D3. We shall see then whether the third family is to come into the line. But not until Chikwanda D15 moves shall we see whether that chieftainship too is stabilised in the Nkula branch. There is the possibility, mentioned earlier, that Nkolemfumu may then try to obtain the Chikwanda. But I imagine that the Nkula branch will try to hang on to this big post, just as they preserved the Nkula in their branch in spite of Nkolemfumu Mbonkali D3's claim. If they do the split between the two branches of the clan will be still further emphasised.

It is said sometimes that Nkula had the right to appoint all the chiefs on the east side of the Chambeshi. This is wrong, but what is clear is that Nkula had to be consulted in their appointment, for the Chambeshi river was something of a political and religious boundary to Lubemba, with Nkula as the biggest power to the east. Of recent years many of the chiefs there have been related to Nkula's branch, for instance Chikwanda, Mubanga and Mukwikile, but they have not always been in the past and will not be in the future. What has happened is that Nkula has not had the power to interrupt any normal succession, but whenever possible he has been able to put his own sons into non-routine appointments east of the Chambeshi in the same way that Chitimukulu and Mwamba have done with their sons. The difference is that Nkula's appointments seem to be restricted to the east of the Chambeshi whereas Chitimukulu and Mwamba have had the whole of Bemba area at their disposal. Only recently Nkula D14 has sent his son to be regent for the aged Lukaka. An appointment that is as valid as any since the Lukaka is not a well established separate line.

Section 3.—THE LINE OF THE THIRD BRANCH OF THE CLAN CHIEF SHIMUMBI.

If my historical reasons are valid only two branches of the clan can claim by precedent a connection with the succession to the Paramountcy, and, strictly speaking, this branch now headed by Chief Shimumbi D18 should have been dealt with under Section 5, as merely one of several royal lines. But of recent years this branch of the clan has been exerting a claim to be classed with the two main branches. A claim that has never before been granted to any other junior branch and one that is causing so much discussion at the moment that I thought it best to give it a separate section and add a few more notes to the full enquiry given in Section 1. 613 643 622

The present Chief Shimumbi (Njoko) D18 is the fourth to hold the title but he is no relation to the former holders. These earlier chiefs were descended from a woman said to be a junior cousin of Kanyanta Bwalya A4 and form an example of a third branch being " too far away " to come into Paramountcy line. This branch had a line of its own and its leading chief was Shilukamba Chikwanda. When he died Chitimukulu Bwembia A6 agreed to Chikwanda C8 his nephew taking the *bobenge*. But the line still went on through Shilukamba's sister and it held three small chieftainships of Shimumbi, Kalulu and Chibanda. 613 622

The last Shimumbi III Mwambamuchele died about 1929 but he was not succeeded by any of his relatives. The Paramount wanted a chieftainship for his nearer cousins so he put in Njoko D18 as Shimumbi IV and at the same time he deprived Kalulu and Chibanda of chiefly rights. The survivors of this branch of the clan still look to Chitimukulu Bwembia A6 as their uncle, although the real position of the mother of the house and her relationship to Kanyanta Bwalya A4 are very obscure.

This history of the earlier clan which was cut off, although headed by a royal sister, is but one of many such occurrences which tend to prove the theory that there is a stop in the horizontal line after two fertile branches.

So Njoko D18 became Shimumbi IV. This man was the son of Mushimba C11 who was sister to Chitimukulu Ponde C10. Shimumbi D18 has one brother, Kafyama D20, and he should succeed Shimumbi if the third branch of clan is cut out of the line to the Paramountcy. If this third branch of the clan is perpetuated as a separate chieftainship then Kafyama D20 would be followed by his nephew Mutali E22, son of the elder sister Mutali D21. If the third branch of the family is allowed to enter the line to the Paramountcy then Kafyama D20 will get a post at the first death (as described earlier) without having to wait for his brother's stool. This will be Mpepo, the lowest post, which will be vacated by a general move up. Kafyama D20 is in the peculiar position at the moment of being the only royal man of his generation without a chieftainship, but as families increase and if the number of chieftainships is reduced there will be many younger sons left with their ambitions unrealised in the future.

613
622

This is sorry comfort for Kafyama D20 now for he is a pushing, aggressive character. He has great influence over the Paramount and only in 1942 when the Mpepo was vacant he bullied the Paramount into nominating him, tentatively, as Mpepo over the head of the rightful heir. Mwamba D3 objected and later two of the Paramount's councillors confessed that it was only Kafyama's insatiable ambitions that had worn down Chitimukulu D1. The Superior Authority finally vetoed the appointment but Kafyama D20 still hangs about the Court, waiting for any chance that might occur of enhancing his prestige. I have no doubt that he is the man most responsible for the active propaganda on behalf of the entry of the third branch of the clan into the main line. I think his own premature attempt to gain the Mpepo was but a part of a general family intrigue to make sure that the line is not passed over. To this end also the name of the mother, Mushimba C1 was made into an hereditary title and a recent occurrence described in the last section, very nearly succeeded in gaining the Mukukamfumu for a woman of this house. The success or otherwise of this campaign is very important because, whatever happens, the choice of the next chief will leave its mark on Bemba royal succession for many generations.

Section 4.—THE LINE OF THE ELDEST SON OF THE PARAMOUNT CHIEF MAKASA.

I have headed this section as above because it is the simplest way of indicating that the holder of the Makasa is thus so regarded, although he may not be the actual son of any chief who has been Paramount. He is the most senior son of all the chiefs of the royal clan. The holder of this post has an important part to play in the inheritance ceremonies of a Paramount. He goes over to the capital as soon as the body of the chief starts its journey to the burial grave at Mwalule and he stays in command of the capital until the new Paramount is appointed. He has to make the culminating remark acknowledging that the proposed Chitimukulu is his "father" and therefore the right man to succeed. It is said that his power at the appointment is greater than that of the *Bakabilo* (hereditary councillors). That is why he is known as the eldest son, and there have been attempts in the past by prospective claimants to the Paramountcy to get in a family member as Makasa ahead of succession, so that the claimant's way may be smoothed. 622 643 644

All the sons of chiefs who hold appointment naturally trace their descent through their fathers. The line to the Paramountcy and other royal chieftainships is through royal women. With the sons it is the other way about—they are from a royal father. The sons are not then of royal blood—*beneng'andu*. 622 644

In the Makasa succession, as in the main lines, the genealogical table is read across from left to right and the most senior son of the most senior father is taken as Makasa.

It has happened that only sons of Chitimukulu's, Mwamba's and Nkulas' have ever held the post, but even such a narrow limit has given scope for intrigue. The last Makasa of the old lineage was a son of a Chitimukulu. In the present lineage the first was a son of Chitimukulu Chileshe A2. Then came a son of Chitimukulu Bwembya A6. Then in succession came two sons of Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 who jumped his sons over the heads of several senior claimants. But when he died, after his career of upsetting most traditions of succession, the Makasa succession went back to a more senior line again and another son of Chitimukulu Chileshe A2 got the post. Following him came Musanya the son of Nkula Shichansa C3 and then Ndakala the son of Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2. This last Makasa, the seventh of the present lineage died in 1939. 613 622 644

The rule of succession sounds simple, but actually power politics and personal choice have great sway in the appointment of the sons of chiefs. For example, the most senior son living to-day is Tungati the son of Mwamba Kapalaula B3. He is also senior to the Makasa who died in 1939. This latter man was Ndakala the son of Nkula Shichansa C3, and he got the post ahead of Tungati. The reasons appear to be that he was already Mubanga which was usually considered the stepping stone to the Makasa and that Tungati who was then Luali hoped for the wealthier post of Mporokoso.

613 622 644 When Makasa Ndakala died in 1939 Tungati was still alive but too old now to worry about moving to claim his rightful post. The next senior son was Luchembe the son of Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2 but he was not nominated because he was half mad. The next sons were Lukaka and Muchereka also sons of Chipoya C2. They also were old and refused to move from their places in Mpika and Luwingu. So the next choice was the last son of Chipoya C2 who was then Chief Misengo.

But whilst all this discussion had been going on in 1939, Nkula D14 had been pressing the claims of Mubanga, who was nephew to the deceased Makasa and was also of the house of Nkula. Mubanga actually went to Makasa and inherited, or rather tried to. But when he attempted to " take [789] the death off " the senior wife of the deceased, her body by magical means was turned round so that her feet appeared on the pillow instead of her head. This went on for some time and Mubanga was finally persuaded that the spirits disapproved his claim to be Makasa so he went back to his Mubanga post. The rightful heir, Misengo, took over and this time the spirits concurred.

This was an attempt of the Nkula branch of the clan to pack the gallery in its own favour. The members obviously thought that if the Makasa was a son of their branch he would influence the next choice of the Paramount in Nkula D14's favour. At the inheritance ceremonies he might use his power and point to Nkula D14 as " his father " and therefore Paramount. Another fact that encouraged their belief that Mubanga should succeed Makasa was that the Mubanga (or Lombe) is usually considered the stepping stone to the Makasa. It was in the past sometimes, and actually it should be for the next appointment. But after that the grading of salaries will probably make the Mubanga no longer a post worth arguing about.

622 644 The present Makasa, as we have said, is the youngest son of Chipoya C2. The next senior son is the present Mubanga Lombe who tried to usurp the post one promotion ahead of his time in 1939. After him comes Mukwikile the last son of Chitimukulu Ponde C10. (Ignoring the four old men already quoted.) After Mukwikile the descent drops to the sons of the reigning Chitimukulu D1. The eldest available son of Chitimukulu D1 (the eldest in age is a simpleton) is Chief Mporokoso and he will not leave that post for Mubanga, and it may be doubted whether he would become Makasa, although that post does carry more honour. But the Makasa does not carry such a big salary as Mporokoso.

Next come Chisangaponde, Chipalo and Menga, and they, if tradition had been followed, should have been offered the Mubanga in 1939 in turn if Mukwikile did not take it. But when Mubanga made his ill-fated attempt to inherit Makasa, the vacant post of Mubanga was not even offered to Mukwikile as it should have been. What happened was that Chitimukulu D1 and Mwamba D3 had an argument. Quite a frequent occurrence. Chitimukulu D1 had earlier broken an old tradition by sending one of his sons to be Mporokoso instead of allowing Mwamba D3 to send of of his (see later). So Mwamba D3 now claimed the right to send one of his sons to Chitimukulu's side of the country. Chitimukulu D1 agreed and allowed Mwamba D3 to appoint a Mubanga. Mwamba D3 sent his eldest son who was at the time holding a minor post as Lwali in Mporokoso. (On the recommendation of the Superior Native Authority this petty post of Lwali was then abolished.) When the spirits decided that Ponde C10's son was the wrong man this young Lwali Mwamba left his newly acquired post of Mubanga and became

Section 5.—OTHER ROYAL CHIEFS.

565 622 The sons of the sisters of royal chiefs are, of course, all royal—*benang'andu*—themselves. And scattered throughout Bemba area are several chieftainships held by men of royal blood but who are only vaguely connected with the present reigning families. These are Chimbola, Mfungo, Nkweto and Mwaba. In the past there were many more, all descended from young royal sisters but none of them, for various reasons discussed earlier, being allowed to enter into the main succession.

The succession in all lines is simple. Each is a self-contained family following a direct matrilineal line, the chief being succeeded normally by brothers or maternal nephews. It is necessary to say briefly how these families obtained their posts as abolition of minor chiefs is a Superior Native Authority policy, and their importance may decide their fate.

Chimbola.

● 613 622 I have already dealt at length with this chieftainship which is the relic of an earlier Paramount lineage. Some people thus refer to it as more senior than the present lineage. It is, of course, in point of age but its importance has lapsed. It is an ever-present example of how the different branches of the clan do sometimes successfully cast each other from the long possession of good posts. All that need be said of it now is that should any amalgamation of small chiefs take place in this area, Chimbola should be regarded as senior or more important than Chisangaponde, Mfungo, Fwangila or Changala.

Mfungo.

This line is of an unimportant scion of the Chimbola branch. It comprises a separate little line of its own with a mother of very vague descent but who is distinct from the more senior mother of Chimbola although both date from the old lineage. Although the appointment was in the hands of Chitimukulu he always kept the post to its own little line. The present Mfungo is grandson to the last one. The post has already been reduced to that of a village headman. There has been trouble recently between Mfungo and Chisangaponde because the latter has retained his chieftainship and Mfungo, of the royal family, has not. Mfungo's area was absorbed by Chisangaponde. Mfungo's people have assaulted Chisangaponde's Kapasu on several occasions and perhaps Mfungo's area should have been absorbed in that of another royal chief and not in Chisangaponde's. The disputes have been going on now for several years and perhaps will only stop when Mfungo is put under another royal chief.

Nkweto.

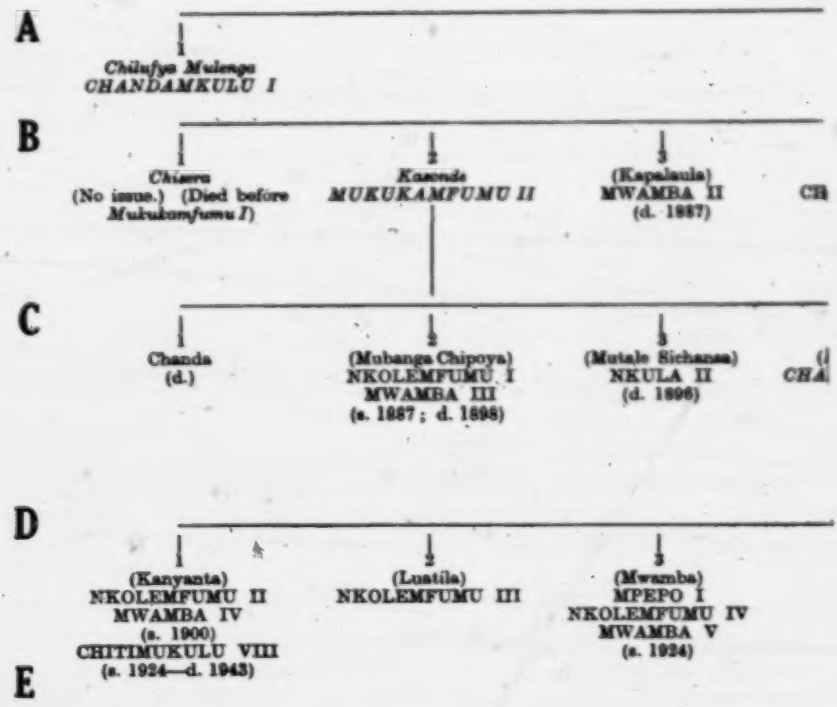
This chief is also a *mwinang'andu* and is descended from a royal chief's sister. The first Nkweto was son of Mumbi. a young sister of Chitimukulu Katongo we Chinga, a Paramount of the old lineage. Her descendants were too far away to the right of the genealogical table to succeed to any of the main chieftainships, and they have therefore kept the line to themselves, following a true matrilineal descent. Nkweto's are succeeded by their brothers or nephews. Nkweto could be abolished as a chieftainship but geographical conditions may demand his retention.

MWABA.

Also a *mwinang'andu* descended from Kapolyo Chibamba, a young sister of Chitimukulu Chibamba Mwase, another Paramount of the old lineage. There is a story that a Mwaba was once due to succeed a Chitimukulu but that he was away hunting when the couriers went for him. His mother sent the couriers back saying that Chitimukulus died too quickly and she would keep her sons at home. Since then the line has kept far from the main succession and descent has been separate and direct through the brothers and nephews. There was one interruption. Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 killed a Mwaba and put in a nephew of his own. But this nephew became Nkula Shichansa C3 and the succession went back to the Kapolyo family. 613 622

This is a minor chieftainship and could be abolished on the death of the present holder. Nkula should take over the area.

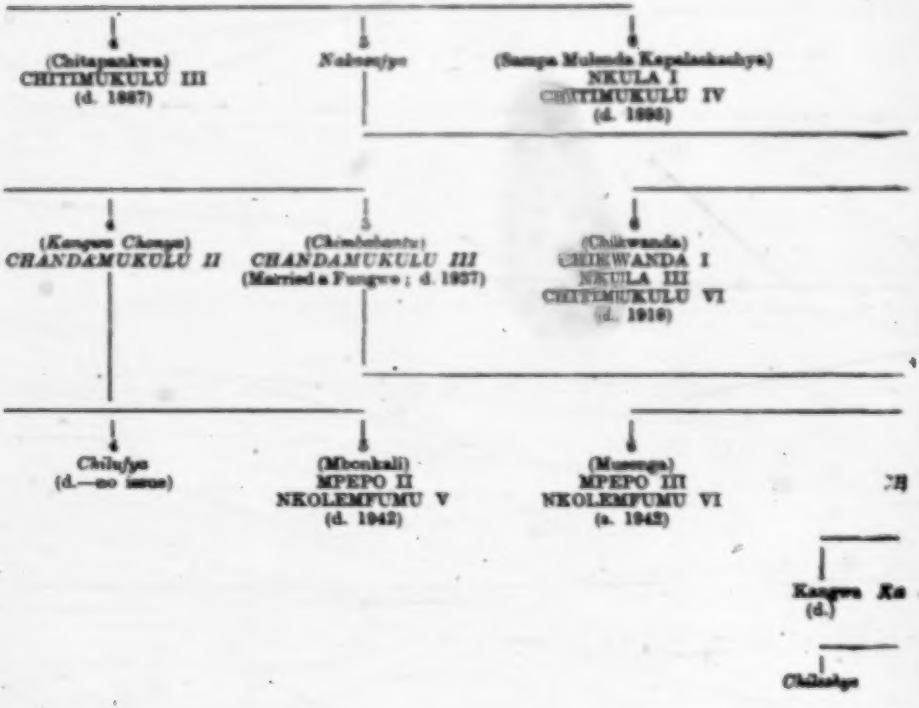
173
● 613
614
622
643
644



[P. 44]

173
613
614
622
643
644

Abbreviated tree of t

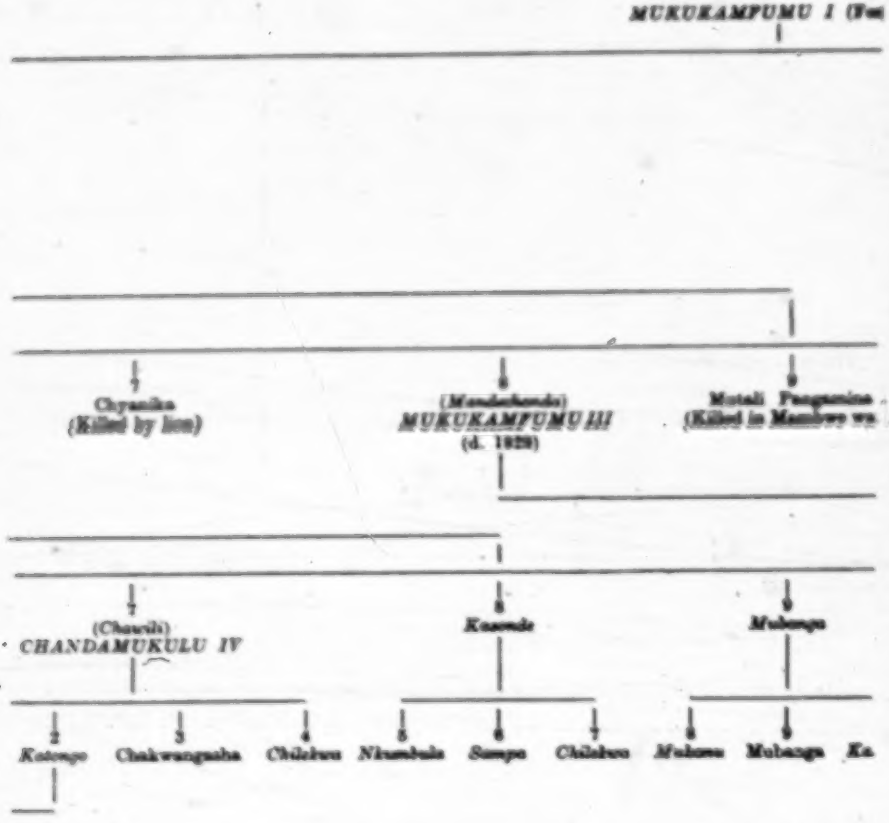


[p.45]

173
613
614
622
643
644

THE BEMBA

the Bemba Royal House showing the issue th



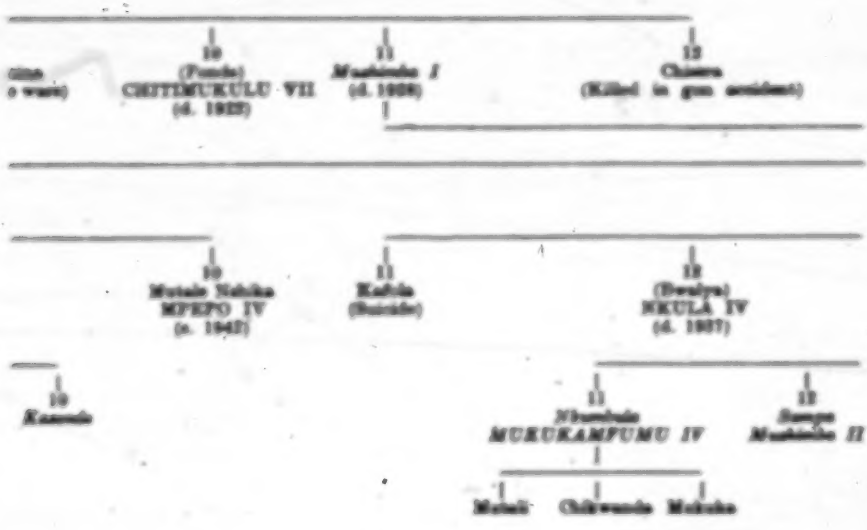
[P.46]

173
613
612
622
643
644

BA CHIEFTAINSHIPS OF THE PARAMO

through the female line (in Italic.) Chi

(Female.)

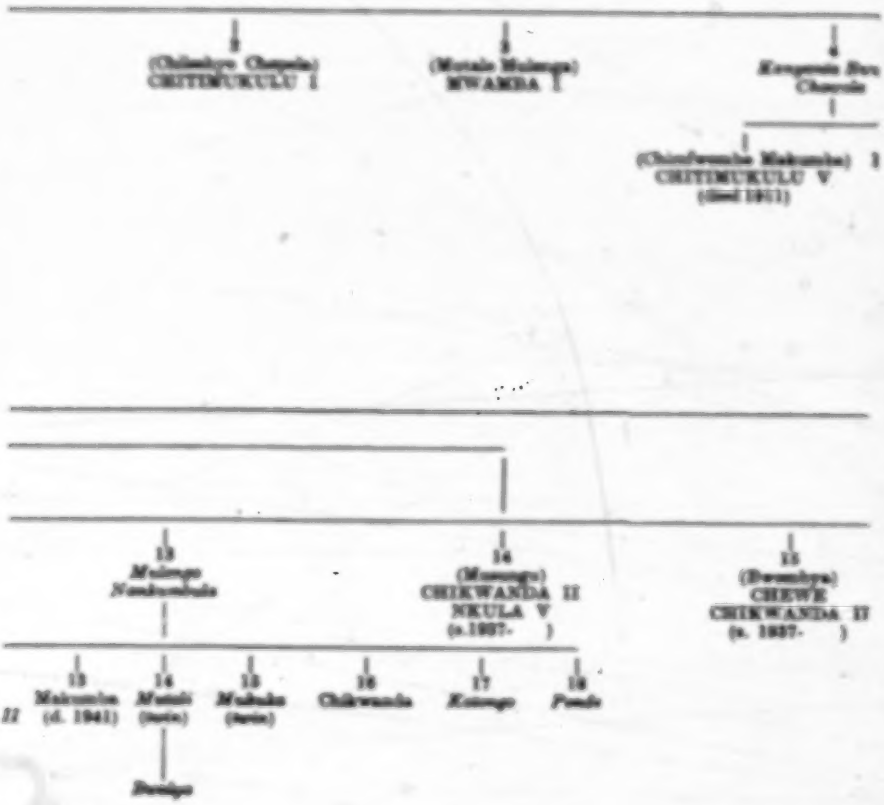


[p. 47]

173
613
614
612
613
614

OUNT LINE.

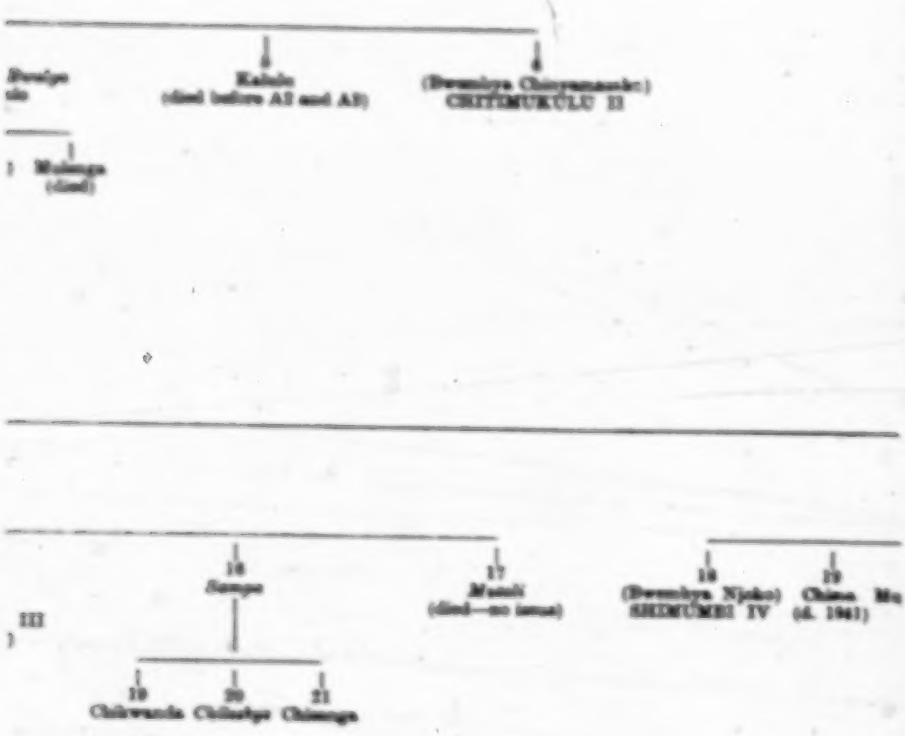
ıildren of the male members are not here show



[p. 48]

173
613
614
632
643
644

own. See next table.



[A49]

173
613
614
622
693
699

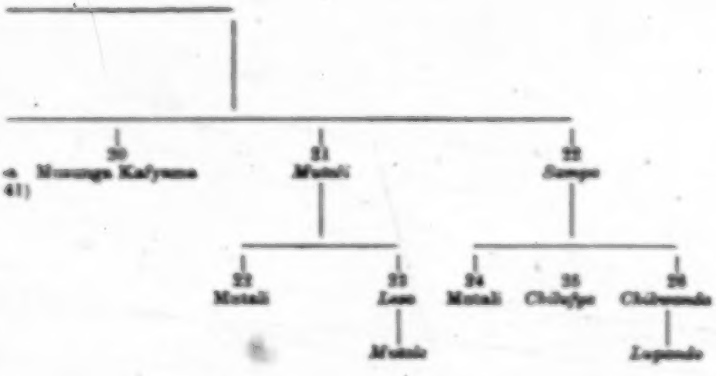
A

B

C

D

E



[p50]

7:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1940 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

duties for each other, but this form of social grouping does not seem to affect the political organization at all at the present day.[1]

Within the clan, smaller lineage groups are recognized. These have no distinct name; though the Bemba often refer to them as 'houses' (*amaciandа*, sing. *iyanda*) of the same clan. Such a house consists of the direct descendants of one particular ancestress traced back to three or four generations—five at the most. Within this smaller descent group, succession to office is usually limited, and chieftainships tend to become hereditary within three or four generations in such lines.[2] Social replacement of one man for another, either as an heir, an officiant in a religious ceremony, in fulfilment of a marriage contract (in the case of a woman), or in compensation for blood guilt in the old days, tends and tended to take place within the 'house' and not the clan, though members of the *umukoa* do replace each other if there is no one more nearly related within the *iyanda* to do so.

It is the smaller descent-group which is important in considering the influence of the ancestral spirits (*imipashi*, sing. *umupashi*) over the living, either as affecting the welfare of their descendants in general or as entering the wombs of pregnant women of that descent-group to act as guardian spirits to the children as yet unborn.

Apart from the descent-group that determines his status, there is the body of kinsmen with whom a Bemba co-operates actively in daily life. These are the people with whom he may choose to live, and who gather together at any important event in his life, such as marriage, the birth of a child, illness, or a death. This group is known by a distinct term, the *ulupwa*. It has a bilateral basis, since it is composed of the near relatives on both sides of the family and also relatives in law. The balance between the powers of the maternal and paternal relatives is a very even one in Bemba society, in spite of the legal emphasis on the matrilineal side, and the ties uniting the members of the *ulupwa* are very strong.[3] Though it is

[1] cf. my 'Reciprocal Clan Relationships among the Bemba of North-Eastern Rhodesia', *Man*, December, 1937.

[2] The late Nkula, Bwalya Cangala, claimed, in the course of a succession dispute, that his near relatives, the children of his grandmother, Nakasafye, must now be considered as a separate 'house', as distinct from the children and grandchildren of her sister, Mukukamfumu II (cf. chart on p. 102).

[3] cf. my 'Mother-right in Central Africa' in *Essays presented to C. G. Seligman* (1934).